

THE PRODUCTION OF THE VATOPEDI OCTATEUCH*

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INTRODUCTION

Among surviving illuminated manuscripts few are as rich in art-historical information as the Octateuchs, with their cycle of more than three hundred fifty miniatures. Their importance was emphasized by art historians in a number of studies which appeared around the turn of the century.¹ Thereafter, to judge by publications, interest in the Octateuchs declined.² A comprehensive study of the manuscripts has never been published,³ but the recent appearance of several articles suggests that interest in them is now reviving.⁴ The main purpose of this paper is to propose a method by which the Octateuchs can be studied. One of the advantages of this method which I hope to make clear is that it leads to precise conclusions about how a scribe and artist would copy an illuminated manuscript. My secondary purpose is, therefore, to show how

a study of the Octateuchs is of broad importance to art historians. The Vatopedi Octateuch, Mount Athos, Vatopedi cod. 602, will be the starting point,⁵ because photographs of all its miniatures have been published.⁶

The Vatopedi Octateuch is a large manuscript, about 33 × 23 cm., and contains on 469 folios the six Old Testament books from Leviticus to Ruth with a marginal Catena.⁷ The text is illustrated by 160 miniatures. Huber's publication shows the Vatopedi Octateuch to be a major work of art, on which an excellent scribe and artist were employed.⁸ The manuscript is not dated by a colophon,⁹ but the

*This article is based on part of my doctoral thesis, "The Vatopedi Octateuch and Its Sources" (London, 1980). I am very grateful to Robin Cormack and Hugo Buchthal for their advice, encouragement, and assistance. I am also grateful for the award of a Junior Fellowship at Dumbarton Oaks (1979–80) which enabled me to complete my research and gave me the opportunity to clarify my ideas in discussion with a number of scholars, among whom I should like to mention in particular Herbert Kessler.

¹In particular, see J. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des Griechischen Physiologus des Kosmas Indikopleustes und Oktateuch nach Handschriften der Bibliothek zu Smyrna*, *Byzantinisches Archiv*, 2 (Leipzig, 1899), 117–26; T. Uspenskij, *L'Octateuque de la Bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople* (Sofia, 1907) (=IRAİK, 12) (hereafter Uspenskij, *L'Octateuque du Sérail*); D.-C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne*, *Codices Graeci et Latini duce Scatone de Vries*, suppl. 6 (Leiden, 1909) (hereafter Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*).

²There continued to be many studies which drew iconographic parallels with the Octateuchs. It would be pointless to list them here.

³Kurt Weitzmann has been preparing a corpus publication of the Octateuchs, to appear as volume I in the series *Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint* (Princeton). I am most grateful to Prof. Weitzmann, and to Dr. Gary Vikan, for permitting me to consult the blueprints of the proposed plate volume, and for the long and interesting discussions we have had.

⁴Some recent publications on the Octateuchs are listed in note 11 *infra*.

⁵Considerable obstacles lie in the way of anyone who wishes to study the original manuscript. I am happy to acknowledge all the help I received in my various expeditions to Vatopedi, only some of which were abortive.

⁶P. Huber, *Bild und Botschaft* (Zurich-Freiburg i.B., 1973) (hereafter Huber, *Bild*); French trans., *Image et Message* (1975).

⁷S. Eustratiades and Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos*, Harvard Theological Studies, 11 (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), 118–19. Other early bibliography includes V. Langlois, *Géographie de Ptolomée* . . . (Paris, 1867), 99; N. Kondakov, *Histoire de l'Art Byzantin considéré principalement dans les Miniatures*, II (Paris, 1891), 83; H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern* (Leipzig, 1891), 212–17, 230–32; N. Kondakov, *Pamjatniki Hristianskago Iskusstva na Athoně* (St. Petersburg, 1902), 284 and fig. 98; Uspenskij, *L'Octateuque du Sérail*, 54–57, 180–89 and pls. 4, 29–47. O. Wulff, *Die altchristliche Kunst von ihren Anfängen bis zur Mitte des ersten Jahrtausends* (Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 1913), II, 530–31; F. Dölger, E. Weigand, and A. Deindl, *Mönchland Athos* (Munich, 1943), 182–83 and figs. 102–3; K. Weitzmann, *Aus den Bibliotheken des Athos* (Hamburg, 1963), 21–27; V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), 283 and figs. 411–13; Huber, *Bild*, 17–109, 182–83 and figs. 1–163. Additional bibliography in notes 11 ff. *infra*.

⁸E.g., Huber, *Bild*, fig. 4 (color illustration of miniature and text).

⁹There is a later note of ownership on folio 469; see Th. Uspenskij, "Les Asénides bulgares au service de Byzance aux XIII^e–XIV^e siècles," *IRAİK*, 13 (1908), 14–16 and pl. 1. I read the date as August 21, of a second indication; Uspenskij reconstructs an *annus mundi*; Huber, *Bild*, 183, misunderstands Uspenskij. On the persons involved, see E. Trapp, "Beiträge zur Genealogie der Asanen in Byzanz," *JÖB*, 25 (1976), 166. A previous Asan, Tsar Ivan II (1218–41), had connections with Va-

generally held view, accepted in this paper, is that it was produced in the thirteenth century.¹⁰ In previous discussions of Vatopedi 602, art historians¹¹ and text critics,¹² working independently, have pointed to a close relationship between it and four earlier illuminated Octateuchs: the eleventh-century Vat. gr. 747¹³ and three twelfth-century manuscripts, Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Library, cod. gr. 8,¹⁴

topedi: see M. Laskaris, *Vatopedskata Gramota na Car' Ivanū Asēnja II*, Bŭlgarski Starini, 11 (Sophia, 1930).

¹⁰Proposed on stylistic grounds by K. Weitzmann, "Constantinopolitan Book Illumination in the Period of the Latin Conquest," *GBA*, 25 (1944), 193–214, repr. in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. L. Kessler (Chicago, 1971), esp. 327–28.

¹¹The most detailed survey, although restricted to certain scenes in Joshua, is by K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll, a Work of the Macedonian Renaissance*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 3 (Princeton, 1948), 6–38; see the similar attempt by Strzygowski, *op. cit.* (note 1 *supra*), 117–26. Among recent publications are J. Lassus, "La Création du Monde dans les Octateuques byzantins du douzième siècle," *Mon Piot*, 62 (1979), 85–148; C. Hahn, "Genesis Illustration in the Octateuchs," *CahArch*, 28 (1979), 29–40; M. Bernabò, "Considerazione sul manoscritto Laurenziano Plut. 5.38 e sulle miniature della *Genesi* degli *Ottateuchi* Bizantini," *AnnPisa*, ser. III, vol. 8,1 (1978), 135–57; *idem*, "Considerazione sulle fonti testuali di alcune miniature della *Genesi* degli *Ottateuchi* Bizantini," *ibid.*, 8,2 (1978), 467–88. Also important is D. Mouriki-Charalambous, "The Octateuch Miniatures of the Byzantine Manuscripts of Cosmas Indicopleustes" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1970).

¹²See first the relevant sections of S. P. Brock, C. T. Fritsch, and S. Jellicoe, *A Classified Bibliography of the Septuagint*, Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des Hellenistischen Judentums, 6 (Leiden, 1973). To which add J. W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Genesis*, Abh Götting, Philol.-hist. Kl., III, 81 = Mitteilungen des Septuaginta Unternehmens, 11 (Göttingen, 1974), 82–100; *idem*, *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy*, *ibid.*, III, 106 = Mitteilungen des Septuaginta Unternehmens, 13 (Göttingen, 1978); F. Petit, *Catenae Graecae in Genesim et Exodum*, I, *Catena Sinaitica*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, 2 (Turnhout, 1977); *Theodoreti Cyrensis Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, eds. N. F. Marcos and A. Sáenz-Badillos, Textos y Estudios "Cardenal Cisneros," 17 (Madrid, 1979), xi–xxvi.

¹³The bibliography on one of the Octateuchs is often relevant to them all. On Vat. gr. 747, see first P. Canart and V. Peri, *Sussidi Bibliografici per i Manoscritti Greci della Biblioteca Vaticana*, ST, 261 (Vatican City, 1970), 479–80. Add to this *Il Rotulo di Giosuè Codice Vaticano Palatino Greco 431* (facsimile) (Milan, 1905) (hereafter *Il Rotulo*), 17, 37–39 and pls. L–M; Uspenskij, *L'Octateuque du Séraïl*, pls. 7–10, 14; I. Hutter, "Paläologische Übermalungen im Oktateuch Vaticanus Graecus 747," *JÖB*, 21 (1972), 140–47.

¹⁴Uspenskij, *L'Octateuque du Séraïl*; A. Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1933), 46–56; K. Weitzmann, "The Octateuch of the Seraglio and the History of its Picture Recension," *Actes du X^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines* (Istanbul, 1957), 183–86; A. Pelletier, *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate*, SC, 89 (Paris, 1962), 10–13; K. Eller and D. Wolf, *Mosaiken, Fresken, Miniaturen. Das Kultbild in der Ostkirche* (Munich, 1967), pls. 30–47; S. Dufrenne, "Note sur le mode de travail des miniaturistes byzantins d'après un des cahiers de l'Octateuque du Séraïl," *Mélanges E. R. Labande* (Poitiers, 1975), 247–53; J. C. Anderson, "An Examination of Two Twelfth-Century

Vat. gr. 746,¹⁵ and Smyrna, Evangelical School, cod. A. 1 (presumed destroyed in 1922).¹⁶ The existence of this family makes it reasonable to assume from the outset that the Vatopedi is a copy of an earlier illuminated Octateuch. The method followed in this paper is to begin by looking at the text of the manuscript to see whether the scribe has left any clues which might help to identify the Octateuch he was copying.

The Text of the Vatopedi Octateuch

A curiosity of the Vatopedi Octateuch (fig. 1) is that the scribe broke off work on folio 143^v, the first leaf of quire 19. He wrote six lines of the Septuagint, ending with the words πρὸς τὴν συναγωγὴν (Num. 14:36). In the marginal Catena he completed twenty lines, ending about halfway down the page with παγίαν τὴν μνήμην.¹⁷ The remainder of the page he left blank. He wrote nothing on the recto of folio 144 (fig. 1), and a stub between folios 143 and 144 (visible in fig. 1) shows that an additional leaf, which it must be assumed was also blank, has been cut out. On folio 144^v (fig. 3) the scribe began work again in the normal manner. At the top of the page he wrote, παρεικαστέον εὐ μάλα (Theotokis, col. 1263) in the Catena, while the Septuagint begins ἄρτον ἀπαρχὴν φυράματος (Num. 15:20). Thus, between folios 143^v and 144^v the Vatopedi Octateuch lacks twenty-eight verses from the book of Numbers and an accompanying section of Catena. The evidence of the blank pages that were left implies that the scribe was aware of a defect at this point in his model and left a corresponding space in his copy, perhaps hoping one day to be able to supply the missing text by reference to another manuscript.

In order to discover the manuscript that was copied by the scribe of the Vatopedi Octateuch it is necessary to find an illuminated Octateuch with the text defect at Num. 14:36–15:20. In fact, all the surviving manuscripts contain this text, but a close examination of them reveals the answer. In the twelfth-century Octateuch Vat. gr. 746, the passages in question are found on the recto and verso

Centers of Byzantine Manuscript Production" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1975), 28–35.

¹⁵Canart and Peri, *op. cit.*, 478–79; see also the preceding bibliographies.

¹⁶Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*; Strzygowski, *op. cit.*; see also the preceding bibliographies.

¹⁷Nikephoros Ieromonachos Theotokis, Σεῖρά ἐνὸς καὶ πεντήκοντα ὑπομνηματιστῶν εἰς τὴν Ὀκτάτευχον καὶ τὰ τῶν βασιλειῶν (Leipzig, 1772–73) (hereafter Theotokis), col. 1261.

of folio 337, a single leaf of parchment of the fourteenth (?) century.¹⁸ It replaces the original folio 337, the last leaf of quire 43, of which only a stub remains. Folio 336^v of Vat. gr. 746 (fig. 2) ends with the following texts: πρὸς τὴν συναγωγὴν (Num. 14:36) and παγίαν τὴν μνήμην (Theotokis, col. 1261). Folio 338 of Vat. gr. 746 (fig. 4) begins as follows: παρεικαστέον εὐ μάλα (Theotokis, col. 1263) and ἄρτον ἀπαρχὴν φυράματος (Num. 15:20). Since these are the texts which end folio 143^v and begin folio 144^v in the Vatopedi (figs. 1–4), the implication is that the scribe was copying Vat. gr. 746. The lacuna in the twelfth-century manuscript, of which the thirteenth-century scribe was aware, was later filled by the addition of the present folio 337.

Nor was the scribe of the Vatopedi Octateuch the only copyist who was affected by the loss of a leaf in the model. Close examination of Vat. gr. 746 reveals traces of color on folios 336^v and 338. These are offprints and show that the original folio 337 had one miniature, about 8.5 × 21.5 cm., at the bottom of the recto and a second, about 13.5 × 13 cm., at the top of the verso. It can even be distinguished that the second miniature was divided horizontally into two registers. These miniatures must have illustrated the lost text, i.e., Num. 14:36–15:20. All the other Octateuchs, with the exception of the Vatopedi, have in fact two miniatures at this point.¹⁹ This situation implies that the artist of the

Vatopedi, like the scribe, found a lacuna in Vat. gr. 746 and left a blank. The Vatopedi Octateuch appears, therefore, to be a copy of Vat. gr. 746.

Because of the importance of establishing beyond doubt that the Vatopedi is a direct copy of Vat. gr. 746 and not of a lost “Doppelgänger,” a second demonstration will be given here. In this case the scribe of the Vatopedi left no conspicuous sign, such as a blank page, and the evidence could easily be overlooked. The first clue is found in the top line of folio 15 (fig. 5), where the text written by the scribe jumps from Lev. 6:20 (πᾶς ὁ ἀπτόμενος) to Lev. 8:2 (κανοῦν τῶν ἁζύμων). As can be seen, there is no sign of inconsistency in what the scribe writes. He then continues normally through chapters 8 and 9 of Leviticus until, in the fourth line of folio 18, he reaches Lev. 9:6 (τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα). Here he picks up Lev. 6:20 (τῶν κρεῶν αὐτῆς) at the point reached on folio 15. Once more he continues as though nothing had happened, copying chapters 6 and 7, until on folio 20^v (fig. 7), five lines from the bottom, he reaches Lev. 8:2 (κριοὺς καὶ τὸ). Here he jumps to Lev. 9:6 (ὁ εἶπε Κύριος), picking up the text at the point he had reached on folio 18. Thereafter the text continues normally, and, despite the jumping to and fro, no part of chapters 6 to 9 of Leviticus has been omitted.

The text that resulted from the activities of the scribe of the Vatopedi can be set out in a diagram:

Vatopedi 602, fols. 15–20^v (figs. 5, 7)

Fol. 15	πᾶς ὁ ἀπτόμενος (Lev. 6:20a)	to	κανοῦν τῶν ἁζύμων (Lev. 8:2b)
Fol. 18	τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα (Lev. 9:6a)	to	τῶν κρεῶν αὐτῆς (Lev. 6:20b)
Fol. 20 ^v	κριοὺς καὶ τὸ (Lev. 8:2a)	to	ὁ εἶπε Κύριος (Lev. 9:6b)

On turning to Vat. gr. 746, we find that Lev. 6–9 proceeds normally, with none of the jumbling that is characteristic of the Vatopedi. Nonetheless, the texts over which there is confusion in the Vatopedi

are significant, because they are either the last words on the versos of folios in Vat. gr. 746 or the first words on the rectos. The correspondences are as follows:

Vat. gr. 746, fols. 269^v–274 (figs. 6, 8)

Fol. 269 ^v ends with	Lev. 6:20a;	fol. 270 begins with	Lev. 6:20b
Fol. 271 ^v ends with	Lev. 8:2a;	fol. 272 begins with	Lev. 8:2b
Fol. 273 ^v ends with	Lev. 9:6a;	fol. 274 begins with	Lev. 9:6b

Comparison of the two diagrams above suggests that the scribe of the Vatopedi on folio 15 (fig. 5) began by copying the last words of folio 269^v of

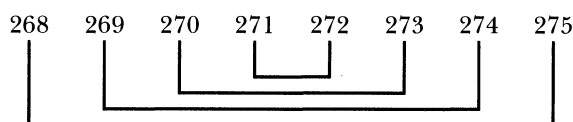
Vat. gr. 746 but followed this with the first words of folio 272 (fig. 6). He then continued as far as the end of folio 273^v, following that with folio 270 (his folio 18). From folio 270 he copied as far as folio 271^v (fig. 8), finally moving to folio 274 (his folio 20^v, fig. 7). How could the scribe have jumbled the text in this way without appearing to notice his mistake?

Folios 269–274 of Vat. gr. 746 form the central

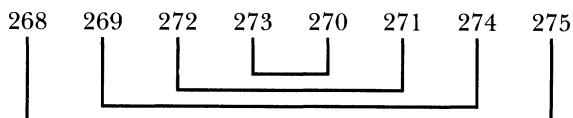
¹⁸Other restorations were made to Vat. gr. 746 at the same time, notably the supply of folios 1–13. See R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, III, *Codices 604–866* (Vatican City, 1950), 262.

¹⁹The arrangement would thus have resembled that on folio 161 of the Smyrna; see Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, figs. 229–30.

part of quire 35, and are correctly bound as follows:



The evidence of folios 15–20^v of Vatopedi 602 suggests, however, that when Vat. gr. 746 was copied in the thirteenth century the quire in question must have been misbound, with its two inner bifolios folded backward. At that date the quire would have looked like this:



In fact, a careful examination of Vat. gr. 746 confirms that the quire was once misbound in such a fashion. Some of the pigment from the miniature on folio 269^v has been transferred to folio 272, while folio 274 has very faint traces of the miniature on folio 271^v. The conclusion to be drawn from these observations is that the scribe of the Vatopedi un-

suspectingly transmitted an error of his model, Vat. gr. 746, which has since been corrected.²⁰

There are many further examples which show the dependence of the Vatopedi Octateuch on Vat. gr. 746, but it would be superfluous to cite them here. The text of the Vatopedi can now be considered in a different way, in search of information which will reveal how the copy of Vat. gr. 746 was made. In the first place, it should be noted that the scribe of the Vatopedi had an assistant. The latter, who can be called Scribe B, wrote only a small portion of the manuscript. He began work in the fifth line of folio 273 (fig. 9) and ended at the bottom of folio 332^v (fig. 11). His contribution consists of seven quaternions, which he numbered from α' to ζ', and a final unnumbered binion. Scribe A, the senior, who took over again on folio 333, renumbered Scribe B's quires in series with his own, λς' to μα', i.e., 36 to 41, and gave the binion the signature μβ'.

It is apparent from looking more closely at the section of text written by Scribe B that the writing of both scribes was adjusted on folios 272^v and 332^v (figs. 9, 11). This is curious, because the texts which begin new quires on folios 273 and 333 are not obviously significant. Yet it appears that the scribes deliberately cramped their writing so that the pages in question could begin as follows:

Vatopedi 602, fols. 273 and 333 (figs. 9, 11):

Fol. 273 begins	ὁρους ὡς οὐ καλῶς	(Theotokis, col. 1527)
	ἐν τῇ κληρονομία σου	(Deut. 19:14)
Fol. 333 begins	χαλκῷ πρὸς ὑπερησίαν	(Theotokis, col. 1668)
	ἡγαπημένου ὁ ἐπιβαίνων	(Deut. 33:6)

To find out what importance these texts might have had for the scribes of the Vatopedi it is possible to consult their model, Vat. gr. 746. There it is found that the Septuagint and Catena texts which begin folio 273 in the Vatopedi (fig. 9) also begin folio 405 in Vat. gr. 746 (fig. 10), while those which begin folio 333 of the Vatopedi (fig. 11) also begin folio 437 in the twelfth-century model (fig. 12). Furthermore, folios 405 and 437 of Vat. gr. 746 happen to be the first pages of quires 53 and 57 of that manuscript. From this it can be deduced that in the production of the Vatopedi Octateuch special arrangements were made so that the volume of text written in the quires allotted to Scribe B would be the same as that in four quires of the model, Vat. gr. 746. In fact, it can still be seen on folio 405 of Vat. gr. 746 (fig. 10) that a later hand has noted in the upper margin, ἐγρόφην, "I wrote

(this)." I take it that the remark was added by one of the scribes of the Vatopedi.

Why should Scribe B of the Vatopedi Octateuch have been allotted four quires of Vat. gr. 746 to copy rather than any other amount of text? One possibility is that the quires in question had worked loose from their binding and could be separated from the rest. This would have meant that Scribe A could engage an assistant to copy the four quires while he himself was working on the remainder. At first sight, the fact that the miniature on folio 405 of Vat. gr. 746 (fig. 10) is badly flaked would seem to suggest that there might have been more than usual wear to this leaf and hence gives support to

²⁰ For a similar example of the effect of a misbound quire on a copyist, see H. Sorlin, "Note sur un Désordre du Vat. Graec. Pii II 1," *Scriptorium*, 34 (1980), 77–78.

the theory of the loose quires. However, other miniatures in Vat. gr. 746 show signs of equivalent wear, and a careful examination of the manuscript failed to produce any evidence to corroborate this theory. Rather than pursuing the hypothesis, we may find it useful to consider the evidence from the point of view of the scribes of the Vatopedi.

First, it can be assumed that Scribe A wished, for reasons that are now obscure, to engage an assistant who would copy part of Vat. gr. 746. In technical matters such as the format, mis-en-page, and calligraphic style to be employed, Scribe B had only to imitate the work of Scribe A. It remained for Scribe A to ensure that there was no confusion between him and his assistant over the text of Vat. gr. 746 which each was to copy. It would have been a simple matter to inform Scribe B to copy such and such folios or pages of the model, but Scribe A could not do this because Vat. gr. 746 at that date lacked a system of foliation, so far as can be judged today. He could instead have noted the first and last words of the section of text which Scribe B was to copy. But this would have required Scribe B to identify the texts correctly, a task which is time-consuming even with a concordance because of the repetitive formulae of the Septuagint. What he obviously required was a simple numerical system in Vat. gr. 746, which was independent of the text and which could also be easily located. In fact, such a system exists in the form of the quire signatures. It would, therefore, have been an easy matter for Scribe A to direct his assistant to copy quires 53 to 56 of Vat. gr. 746. The fact that Scribe A went so far as to write the first lines of folio 273, after having adjusted the text on folio 272^v, may show how eager he was to ensure that Scribe B began at the right place. It seems appropriate that the scribes of the Vatopedi might have used in this way the quire signatures of their model, a non-textual feature of the manuscript which was of interest only to scribes and bookbinders. In conclusion, the fact that the division of labor in the Vatopedi was by quires of the model, and also by quires of the manuscript being produced, does not necessarily mean that Vat. gr. 746 was unbound, even partially, in order to be copied. Instead, it was probably the presence of the quire signatures, rather than the physical divisions that they imply, which was used as a guide to the volume of text which the junior scribe of the Vatopedi Octateuch was to copy.

It will have been noticed that Scribe B required 60 folios (one of which is now lost) to reproduce

the content of 32 folios of Vat. gr. 746. In a similar fashion, Scribe A left three and a half sides blank when his model had lost only one folio. The Vatopedi Octateuch has, in fact, about twice as many folios as Vat. gr. 746. This is because its pages are only about half as large, roughly 33 × 23 cm. instead of 39.3 × 31.3 cm. The reasons for the change are unknown, although a shortage of parchment of large format or the desire to produce a less bulky volume are both plausible explanations. An important result of the change in format was that the Vatopedi Octateuch had to be divided into two volumes, for 469 folios (plus four that are lost) were needed to copy folios 260–508 of Vat. gr. 746 (about eight folios are lost). Therefore, another volume of about the same bulk would have been required to copy the first 260 folios of Vat. gr. 746 and the books of Genesis and Exodus, with the prefatory texts, which are found there. Since other Octateuch Catena manuscripts, without illustrations, were sometimes produced in two volumes, divided at the end of Exodus,²¹ it makes sense to suppose that the Vatopedi is only the surviving second volume of a once complete Octateuch.²²

Comparison of the work of the scribes of the Vatopedi Octateuch with that in Vat. gr. 746 has shown that the copyists transmitted not merely the text of the model, with its lacunae, but also some details of its foliation. In a text-critical sense the Vatopedi is worse than its model, for it adds new mistakes, such as the confusion in Leviticus, to the errors it inherits. However, judged as a book production, the later manuscript is definitely the superior work. Vat. gr. 746 was written by three scribes, whose work shows many signs of hastiness.²³ The hand of the senior scribe (figs. 10, 12) is irregular, letters are of variable shape and size, the lines undulate, and the color and density of the ink varies as though the scribe were frequently dipping his pen. The hand

²¹ Listed in A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens, 2 (Berlin, 1914), 377–78.

²² It has usually been assumed that the Vatopedi was only part of a complete Octateuch; cf. Brockhaus, *op. cit.* (note 7 *supra*), 212. Uspenskij, *L'Octateuque du Séraïl*, 55, attempted to support this by asserting that the first text folio of the Vatopedi, a single leaf, originally belonged to the final quire of Exodus. In fact, the cognate half of the bifolio in question once followed folio 9 and contained Lev. 3:16–4:15. Folio 3 was always the first leaf of the first quire of the Vatopedi. Uspenskij's statement that the quire signatures are not original because they take account of the "additional" single leaf is also incorrect. Huber, *Bild*, 183, follows Uspenskij.

²³ Scribe A wrote folios 14–219^v and 385–508^v. Scribe B wrote folios 220–340^v. Scribe C wrote folios 341–384^v and the first three lines of folio 385.

of Scribe A of the Vatopedi (figs. 5, 7), by contrast, is remarkably even. He writes in an imitative script of *Perlschrift* origin, one which was popular in the best books produced in the Palaeologan period.²⁴ He is scrupulous in following the line with the regular squarish forms of the letters. He also uses gold frequently for titles, numbers, and initials. Indeed, on looking at the pages of the Vatopedi, the first impression is that the scribes were probably copying a carefully written eleventh-century text. The discovery that in fact the twelfth-century Vat. gr. 746 was the model emphasizes the care with which the Palaeologan scribes worked in order to produce in the Vatopedi Octateuch a more luxurious manuscript than the one they were copying.

The Miniatures of the Vatopedi Octateuch

After the establishment of the precise model used in the production of the Vatopedi Octateuch, the next task is to make a detailed comparison between the thirteenth-century miniatures and those from which they were copied. It will not be necessary in this paper to consider every miniature of the Vatopedi, for the great majority were copied from Vat. gr. 746 without major changes.²⁵ This dependency is not surprising when the manner in which the artist had to work is considered. He must have received the sheets of parchment from the scribe with the text already written and spaces of the correct shape and size left for the miniatures at the appropriate places.²⁶ He was, therefore, not free to select or omit miniatures, but had to reproduce every one in a rather mechanical fashion. Bearing in mind the large number of miniatures that he had to copy in this way, it would not be surprising if comparison with the model showed that the later artist had become bored with his task and worked in a sloppy way. This theory is easily tested.

Compare, for example, the two versions of the miniature depicting the Earth Swallowing Dathan

and Abeiram (figs. 13, 14).²⁷ The differences between the two are in points of detail only. In Vat. gr. 746 the figures appear flat and the highlights are carelessly applied. In the Vatopedi the drapery often forms complex patterns but is shaded so as to suggest successfully the forms it covers. The faces in Vat. gr. 746 are hastily drawn, the features superimposed on a thin layer of flesh tone. In the Vatopedi the faces have been painted with great care, the features modeled by shadows and gentle gradations of tone. The pigments used in Vat. gr. 746 are rather grainy, the colors dull and sometimes muddy. The tones in the Vatopedi are vivid, the paint surface smooth. Comparison thus shows that the artist of the Vatopedi worked very carefully, while the charge of sloppiness in execution can be leveled at the miniatures of Vat. gr. 746. With this miniature, as with many others, the later artist has succeeded in producing work of a quality higher than that in his model without making any significant alterations.

Not every miniature in the Vatopedi Octateuch is as close a copy of Vat. gr. 746 as the one considered above, for on occasions the thirteenth-century artist did depart from his model. Why did these changes take place, and what do they reveal about the artist? In the first place, it can be noted that both scribe and artist sometimes encountered difficulties because the manuscript they were producing was so much smaller than its model. There are, for example, miniatures in Vat. gr. 746 which were too wide to fit onto the pages of the Vatopedi.

At the bottom of folio 334 of Vat. gr. 746 (fig. 16) is a miniature 23.8 cm. wide. It depicts, in two scenes separated by a vertical line, Miriam Struck with Leprosy (Num. 12:11 ff.) and Moses Sending Spies into Canaan (Num. 13:17–20). Because the usable width on the pages of the Vatopedi is at most about 20 cm., the scribe decided he would leave two spaces in the text he was writing, one for each scene, so that the artist would not have to compress the miniature into a smaller area. In Vat. gr. 746 the miniature is painted in a space left below Num. 13:20, and the scribe of the Vatopedi should have left two spaces in his copy at, or near, that point. Instead, he left a space for the first miniature at Num. 12:8, a text which in Vat. gr. 746 is two pages before the miniature. Presumably, he did this in

²⁴ On archaizing hands, see H. Hunger, "Archaisierende Minuskel und Gebrauchsschrift zur Blütezeit der Fettaugenmode. Der Schreiber des Cod. Vindob. theol. gr. 303," *La Paléographie Grecque et Byzantine* (Paris, 1977), 283–90. Also see the remarks in H. Buchthal and H. Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople. An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy*, DOS, 16 (Washington, D.C., 1978) (hereafter Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*), 94–96.

²⁵ Volume II of my doctoral thesis, "The Vatopedi Octateuch and Its Sources," is a catalogue of all the miniatures in the books of Leviticus to Ruth in the five Octateuchs.

²⁶ Compare the situation in the Seraglio: Uspenskij, *L'Octateuque du Sérail*, pls. II, v.

²⁷ Weitzmann, "Constantinopolitan Book Illumination" (note 10 *supra*), 327, noted the thirteenth-century style of this miniature in the Vatopedi.

order to bring the miniature closer to the text it illustrates, i.e., Num. 12:11 ff., which is lower down the page. He also moved the second miniature from Num. 13:20, leaving a space for it at Num. 13:2. This unnecessary move was probably considered an improvement, for the text in question is appropriate, and reads: "And the Lord spoke unto Moses, saying, Send for thee (sic) men, and let them spy out the land of the Canaanites." The process by which the scribe of the Vatopedi changed what he found in Vat. gr. 746 can now be reconstructed. While copying folio 333 of his model, or before, the thirteenth-century scribe realized that there was a miniature at the bottom of folio 334 which would be too large to be copied directly. The scribe observed that two scenes were depicted, and that there was no connection between the events in them. The first scene concerned the leprous Miriam, but the scribe noted that in Vat. gr. 746 it was placed below a text describing the activities of the spies in Canaan. Having then decided to place the miniature nearer its text in the manuscript he was producing, he correctly identified the relevant passage and left a space at that point. The same process affected the second scene, although in this case there was less justification for moving the space.

Once the spaces had been left in the Vatopedi, it can be assumed that the scribe informed the artist of a departure from the model. It was important that this be done, for the artist worked through the manuscript copying a miniature of Vat. gr. 746 into a corresponding space in the Vatopedi and therefore needed to know of any deviations from the norm. On comparing what the artist painted in the first space (fig. 15) with the model he found in Vat. gr. 746 (fig. 16), it is apparent that some changes were made. The right part of the miniature is substantially the same, but the later artist has added Aaron's halo, a detail omitted in his model. Aside from this, the figures of Aaron and Miriam are closely comparable in the twelfth-century manuscript and its thirteenth-century copy, although more carefully painted in the latter. But the left part of the composition has been altered significantly. In Vat. gr. 746 Moses wears the usual long tunic and himation and is depicted in a relaxed, swaying stance, his knee and shoulder emphasized. In the Vatopedi Moses' weight is borne equally on both feet, and the emphasis has moved to his unnaturally thickened waist. He is now enveloped in the pink himation, and only a narrow strip of gold tunic appears around his ankles. As he stoops

and lifts his hands toward heaven, his clothing hangs in complex folds from his arms, twists itself scarf-like around his calves, and forms angular breaks behind his knees and a curving loop in the small of his back. The ciborium behind him is also transformed. In Vat. gr. 746 it is of the usual pattern, with four columns supporting a domical vault. There is confusion over the spatial relationship between the columns, and the altar appears to stand in front of them instead of beneath the canopy. In the Vatopedi the viewer looks into the ciborium, seeing both further columns between the two nearer ones, as if diminished by the distance. The domical vault has been replaced by a pyramidal roof on a rectangular base, and the altar has been moved under the structure. The treatment of the altar is, however, less successful than that of the columns, especially at the left side, and the artist has supplied two marble screens and a central door(?) which close the front opening, perhaps in order to emphasize that the altar is supposed to be beneath the ciborium.

Apart from the addition of Aaron's halo, which is a minor iconographic correction, the changes that the artist of the Vatopedi made in copying this miniature from Vat. gr. 746 are stylistic ones. Unable for technical reasons to copy his model mechanically, he took advantage of the opportunity and introduced some personal flourishes. The style of these changes points to the Palaeologan period. The sinuous folds of drapery and scarflike horizontal bands may also be observed in a work such as the portrait of John in the Vatican Praxapostolos manuscript, Vat. gr. 1208,²⁸ while the angular and curving bunches of cloth appear in the portrait of James in the same manuscript.²⁹ The stooping posture of Moses with the characteristic thickened waist has a parallel in, for example, the Moses of the Transfiguration fresco in the Protaton on Mount Athos, from around the year 1300.³⁰

Occasionally a miniature in Vat. gr. 746 was divided into two parts for inclusion in the Vatopedi Octateuch without the justification that it was too large. One such miniature is in the book of Judges. In Vat. gr. 746 it is only 10.1 × 12.9 cm.³¹ It depicts

²⁸ Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, pl. 39.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 38.

³⁰ G. Millet, *Les Monuments de l'Athos, I, Les Peintures* (Paris, 1927), pl. 11.3. For a recent discussion of the Protaton, see P. M. Mylonas, "Les étapes successives de construction du Protaton au Mont Athos," *CahArch*, 28 (1979), 143–60.

³¹ Compare Hesseling, *L'Octateuque de Smyrne*, fig. 319.

Deborah and Barak in the upper register and Sisera slain by Jael in the lower. These events are recorded in Judg. 4:6–9 and Judg. 4:18–21, respectively, while the miniature is placed in a space left in the text at Judg. 4:22–5:3. On comparing the Vatopedi version, we find that the miniature is divided into its two scenes and located in two spaces which the scribe has left.³² The first is below Judg. 4:6 and the second at Judg. 4:18–20. The relocation of the spaces in the Vatopedi thus places the divided scenes next to the texts they illustrate. It is again possible to reconstruct how this change must have been made. The thirteenth-century scribe was looking ahead in Vat. gr. 746 and had not copied further than Judg. 4:6 when he noted the miniature in question. Although it had no title, he correctly identified the scenes depicted. He then located the texts which were being illustrated and decided that he could improve on the arrangement in Vat. gr. 746 by dividing the miniature and placing each scene beside its text. In this case, the artist, informed of the change from the model, did not take the opportunity to alter the scenes. The evidence of the comparison, however, confirms that the scribe understood the miniatures in Vat. gr. 746 and made alterations to improve his copy, even when practical considerations did not oblige him to do so.

The artist of the Vatopedi did not always require the prompting of the scribe in order to change the style of the miniatures he copied from Vat. gr. 746, as an example from the book of Joshua will demonstrate. The scene that is illustrated shows Caleb before the seated Joshua. In Vat. gr. 746 the background is left plain,³³ but in the Vatopedi the artist has added a complex building behind Joshua.³⁴ The building is topped by a length of knotted drapery on a crosslike structure both sides of which are visible, as though seen from different viewpoints. The artist has attempted to suggest that the cross, its arms supported by columns, recedes in space, but he has not quite succeeded. However, his interest in three-dimensional crosslike structures is characteristic of the Palaeologan period and can be paralleled, for example, in the backgrounds of portraits of seated evangelists.³⁵

In the examples discussed so far, the fact that

the artist of the Vatopedi Octateuch sometimes changed what he copied from Vat. gr. 746 has not implied that he needed to consult another pictorial model. For some miniatures in the book of Joshua, however, it has been proposed by Weitzmann that the artist improved his version by reference to a famous model, namely the tenth-century Joshua Roll, Vat. palat. gr. 431.³⁶ This theory can now be tested, for by first comparing the Vatopedi with Vat. gr. 746 it will be possible to isolate any changes or improvements which the later artist made, and these can be compared with the evidence of the Joshua Roll.

Consider the miniature in two registers (figs. 17, 18), which depicts Joshua despatching two spies to the city of Ai and their journey (above), and their report to Joshua and the Israelite soldiers setting off (below). Apart from the striking improvement in the quality of the miniature of the Vatopedi, there are other conspicuous differences from the version in Vat. gr. 746. In the upper register the later artist has added a seated female figure at the left and a walled town, with a second seated female, at the right. Joshua has been placed on a round-backed throne, rather than on a bench, and now gestures with his left hand. The spy at the left has been given armor and a billowing cloak, while the tree at the far right has been omitted. In the lower scene the tree at the right has again been omitted, whereas a house and a long wall have been added in the background at the left and a tree added in the center. Finally, the background left plain in Vat. gr. 746 has been given an overall wash of blue in the upper scene and green in the lower.

Since the miniatures in the Vatopedi usually follow their models in Vat. gr. 746 closely, the presence in this case of so many differences from the model certainly requires explanation. By adding to the comparison sheet VI of the Joshua Roll (fig. 19), the impetus for some of the changes in the Vatopedi becomes evident. The female figure at the left in the Vatopedi can be identified, with the help of the Joshua Roll, as a personification of the city of Jericho. She belongs, in fact, to the previous composition, which illustrates the destruction of the city, but the later artist does not seem to have been concerned about this inconsistency, if he was even aware of it. The second female figure added in the Vatopedi is also found to be a personification from

³² Huber, *Bild*, figs. 129–30.

³³ *Il Rotulo*, pl. G.3.

³⁴ Huber, *Bild*, fig. 99.

³⁵ For example at Arilje, see G. Millet, *La Peinture du Moyen Âge en Yougoslavie*, II, ed. A. Frolow (Paris, 1957), pl. 69. 2; or in the Protaton, see *idem*, *Monuments de l'Athos*, pl. 37.1; or in illuminated manuscripts, see S. M. Pelekanidis, P. C. Christou,

Ch. Tsioumis, and S. N. Kadas, *Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, I (Athens, 1973), fig. 38 (Dionysiou 13); III (1979), fig. 177 (Pantokrator 47).

³⁶ Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll* (note 11 *supra*), 37.

the Joshua Roll. It appears that the later artist copied the walled city of Ai from the Roll, and then, short of space, placed its personification on the walls. In the lower register of the Vatopedi the addition of a tree in the center also appears to be based on the Roll. However, comparison of the Vatopedi with both Vat. gr. 746 and the Joshua Roll still leaves some changes unexplained. The omission of the trees at the right of the upper and lower scenes is obviously due to lack of space, but the other changes must be considered independent improvements by the artist of the Vatopedi. The wall and the house in the lower scene may have been intended to balance the architectural background in the upper. The curved back of the throne in which Joshua sits is reminiscent of the seats in Palaeologan portraits.³⁷ The changes to the first spy are also significant. It is clear from both the artist's models (figs. 18, 19) that the scene depicts the same two spies on two occasions: being instructed by Joshua and then heading for Ai. This reading is certainly not clear in the Vatopedi (fig. 17), where the first spy, in his armor and cloak, appears to be despatching the other three. Although the meaning of the miniature is thus unclear, there is no doubt that the later artist has succeeded in creating a focus of attention in the center of the miniature. In terms of style, the billowing cloak is another pointer to the Palaeologan date of the Vatopedi Octateuch, and many parallels of a general nature could be cited.³⁸

A similar exercise can be performed with other miniatures in the Joshua cycle, comparing the version in the Vatopedi with that of Vat. gr. 746 and then analyzing the differences between them in the light of evidence from the Joshua Roll.³⁹ There is, however, one miniature which can be considered here, for it is in a different category. Vat. gr. 746 has no illustration of the destruction of Jericho. On examining the Joshua Roll in search of improvements to the Joshua cycle of the Vatopedi, the thirteenth-century artist must have been struck by a large and interesting composition devoted to the fall of the city. He decided to make use of it (figs. 20, 21). It appears to be a fortunate coincidence that the Catena on folio 353 of the Vatopedi (fig.

20a) occupies only the upper part of the page, leaving a space beside Josh. 6:20–22, the very text which relates the fall of Jericho. The combination of this space and the model provided by the Joshua Roll enabled the artist to supply a new miniature to the Octateuch cycle. Because the space was not wide, the artist was forced to telescope the composition (fig. 20b). The priests at the left were moved behind Joshua, and the crowd of soldiers in the center background, which is hardly more than a space filler in the Roll, was omitted. The battle in the right foreground was compressed, but its characteristic figures were retained. Among the changes made in the Vatopedi was the replacement of all but one of the towers of Jericho, with their tiled roofs, by crenellated turrets. Furthermore, the later artist introduced an architectural filler in the left foreground, beneath the feet of Joshua and the priests.⁴⁰

The addition of the miniature of the Destruction of Jericho to those copied from Vat. gr. 746 is the most radical departure from his model that was made by the artist of the Vatopedi. With evidence from other miniatures in the book of Joshua and the discovery that Vat. gr. 746 was the Octateuch copied in the Vatopedi, it is thus possible to confirm Weitzmann's hypothesis and to establish the precise debt of the Palaeologan artist to the Joshua Roll. Moreover, the connection between the Roll and the Vatopedi Octateuch provides important information in reconstructing the provenance of both manuscripts. It was Weitzmann's conclusion that the Joshua Roll must still have been in the imperial library in the thirteenth century, and that the Octateuch was in all probability produced in the imperial scriptorium.⁴¹ Some evidence raises doubts over this suggestion.⁴²

On the verso of various sheets of the Joshua Roll are notes in a number of hands, probably of the thirteenth century. There are excerpts from various Church Fathers on sheets V and VI, and a lengthy account of the expenses involved in a building on the verso of sheet XIII. The author of the account, a certain George Kourtikes, *anagnostes*, paid, for example, three hyperpera for 3,700 bricks (*πλινθάριον*), four hyperpera for fifty-eight cart loads of stone (*πέτρων ἀμάξια*), and eleven hyperpera for the felling of trees to provide, among other things, one hundred forty floorboards

³⁷ Compare the remarks of Weitzmann, "Constantinopolitan Book Illumination" (note 10 *supra*), 328. For the throne, see the portrait of Luke in Laur. plut. 6,28 in Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage*, pl. 3a.

³⁸ For example, Peter of the Transfiguration fresco in the Protaton: see Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, pl. 49.1; or the same figure at Sv. Nikita, Čučer: see *idem*, *Yougoslavie*, II, pl. 69.2.

³⁹ See Lowden, "Vatopedi Octateuch" (ed. note* *supra*), I, 102–6; II, 152–224.

⁴⁰ Compare the remarks of Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll*, 16–17.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁴² *Il Rotulo*, 1–3.

(πατοσάνιδες). The building under construction is described as a δσπήτιον. Whatever its size and grandeur was to be, the fact that the account was written on the back of the Joshua Roll implies that the latter was not a carefully protected treasure at the time. More likely, the Roll was a curiosity which came to the attention of the artist of the Vatopedi Octateuch. The way in which he made use of it suggests that he may have had it before him while he was copying Vat. gr. 746. The artistic connections that have been found between these manuscripts point, therefore, to a provenance for all three of them in Constantinople in the late thirteenth century, but cannot be pressed further to reveal a precise location.

Thus far the artist of the Vatopedi Octateuch has been seen purely within a manuscript environment, coping with the problems of copying one miniature into another and deriving inspiration from a famous model. Could the artist also have had any contacts with monumental art? Both Demus⁴³ and Der Nersessian⁴⁴ have pointed to a connection between a miniature in the Vatopedi and a fresco in the parekklesion of the Kariye Camii.⁴⁵ But as the fresco was probably painted around 1320,⁴⁶ whereas the manuscript is probably a product of the last decades of the thirteenth century, this comparison would seem to reveal more about the artist of the Kariye Camii than about the man who illustrated the Octateuch. A more significant comparison was made in 1910 by Millet, who pointed to the similarities between a late thirteenth-century fresco painting and a miniature in the Vatopedi.⁴⁷ The comparison of the figure of Balaam on his she-ass on folio 175 of the Vatopedi (fig. 22) with his counterpart in the Tree of Jesse in the narthex of the church at Arilje (fig. 24) is indeed striking.⁴⁸ But what does it signify?

In the first place, the miniature in the Vatopedi

must be compared with its model in Vat. gr. 746 (fig. 23) to establish whether the composition is in any way unusual. In the twelfth-century manuscript the ass walks forward and turns her head, as if to talk to Balaam, while the angel appears at the right (Num. 22:29–30). The title of the miniature confirms this reading of the iconography: ὁ Βαλαάμ διαλεγόμενος τῇ ὄνῳ ἐπιφανέντος ἀγγέλου. In the Vatopedi (fig. 22) the title is retained, but the artist appears to have illustrated an earlier verse: “and when the ass saw the angel of God she lay down under Balaam” (Num. 22:27). The ass braces one foreleg and draws back the other, arches her neck, and lowers her hind quarters. It is exactly this left part of the scene, in which the Vatopedi differs from Vat. gr. 746, that presents the closest comparison with the fresco at Arilje. Can it, therefore, be concluded that the miniaturist altered the scene because he knew this particular fresco? In some details, such as the treatment of the saddle, the fresco is more satisfactory than the miniature, and the overall impression of movement that is conveyed by the monumental composition is more convincing. If one version is to have priority, then it should be the fresco at Arilje. It seems, however, unlikely that the particular version of the Tree of Jesse with Balaam meeting the angel should have appeared first in 1295/96 at Arilje.⁴⁹ The artist of the Vatopedi might have seen a version of the Tree of Jesse in some lost thirteenth-century decoration in Constantinople. It is thus reasonable to conclude that this miniature in the Vatopedi was probably altered under the influence of a monumental composition, one which may have interested the artist because it was new.

The miniatures discussed so far have shown how the artist improved what he copied and was aware of developments in Palaeologan art. But was his interest in his work purely visual? Was he at all concerned with understanding what he was copying? These questions are answered by a miniature from the book of Judges (figs. 25, 26), which illustrates the text: “And they took the princes of Madiam, even Oreb and Zeb; and they slew Oreb . . . and Zeb . . . and they pursued Madiam, and brought the heads of Oreb and Zeb to Gideon from beyond Jordan” (Judg. 7:24–25).

On comparing the versions in the Vatopedi and Vat. gr. 746, we can see that the thirteenth-century

⁴³ O. Demus, “The Style of the Kariye Djami and Its Place in the Development of Palaeologan Art,” in *The Kariye Djami*, IV, *Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and its Intellectual Background*, ed. P. Underwood (Princeton, 1975), 158.

⁴⁴ S. Der Nersessian, “Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Parekklesion,” *ibid.*, 339.

⁴⁵ Compare Huber, *Bild*, fig. 71; and Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, III (New York, 1966), pls. 453–55. Der Nersessian, *loc. cit.*, compares the fresco with the succeeding miniature (Huber, *Bild*, fig. 72), with which it is not closely connected.

⁴⁶ On the date of the decoration, see Underwood, *op. cit.*, I, 14–15.

⁴⁷ G. Millet, “L’Octateuque Byzantin d’après une publication de l’Institut Russe de Constantinople,” *RA*, 16 (1910), 75.

⁴⁸ On Arilje, see first V. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien* (Munich, 1976), 61–62 and note 46.

⁴⁹ There is a similar Tree of Jesse at Sopoćani, but the composition is difficult to read. See *ibid.*, 54–57 and note 41; Millet, *Yugoslavie* (note 35 *supra*), II, pl. 25.3.

artist has added the names ZHB and ΩPHB on the shields of the headless victims in the foreground, thus identifying them as the unfortunate kings. More striking is the addition of the River Jordan. It cuts diagonally across the composition, separating the scene of Gideon being presented with the heads "from beyond the Jordan" from the battle of the Ephraimites against the Midianites. These improvements by the artist of the Vatopedi suggest the following conclusions: he was sufficiently interested in the miniature he was copying from Vat. gr. 746 to work out what it depicted, which was not difficult, for although it has no explanatory title the relevant text is beside the miniature; and his reading of the text suggested to him the possibility of improving the miniature, first by supplying the names on the shields, then by using a compositional device found elsewhere in the Octateuchs for the depiction of "beyond the Jordan."⁵⁰ A comparison of this miniature with its model thus shows how a copying artist might make significant improvements to the iconography of a miniature on the basis of his reading of the text to be illustrated.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the information that has been gathered on the production of the Vatopedi Octateuch can be summarized. The painter of the Vatopedi has emerged as a personality of importance. Although faced with the mechanical task of reproducing a large cycle, he did not resort to short cuts but painted his miniatures with care. Occasionally he allowed his Palaeologan training to influence him, and adapted drapery and architecture to conform to stylistic canons that are different from those of his model. His awareness of contemporary iconography appears in his changes to the scene of Balaam meeting the angel. His interest in his task, which might be surmised from the consistent high quality of his painting, is borne out in the use he made of the Joshua Roll. He took details from the Roll and added them to the miniatures he copied from Vat. gr. 746. He even went so far as to create a new composition, the Destruction of Jericho, on the basis of the Roll alone. Finally, he was capable of reading the text around the miniatures he painted and of adding iconographic improvements on that basis.

The main scribe of the Vatopedi also worked carefully. Obligated, perhaps, by a shortage of large sheets of parchment to copy Vat. gr. 746 at a smaller

scale, he was not discouraged from attempting to produce a work of excellent appearance. He respected the lacunae of his model, although unwittingly transmitting other errors. When a problem occurred over a miniature, he went to some lengths to solve it. He studied the miniatures, understood what they depicted, and was prepared to relocate them in the text if he felt this would be an improvement.

The work of the main scribe and the artist in the Vatopedi thus shows many similarities. Both worked carefully and understood text and illustration. It is noteworthy that in Vat. gr. 746, a manuscript on which a number of scribes and artists collaborated, there are several important errors over the relationship between miniatures and text.⁵¹ In the Vatopedi, on the other hand, no mistakes of this type are found, although two scribes were at work. One of the reasons for this consistency is that the artist only began work, or so it can be assumed, when all the text had been written. This situation would be conveniently explained if one man had been both main scribe and artist.

Turning now from the production of the manuscript to wider issues, the method of study that has been followed in this paper can be considered. First, it should be recalled that previous art-historical studies have been unanimous in concluding that the model of the Vatopedi Octateuch no longer survives. The approach which led to this conclusion was based, more or less, on the method which Weitzmann calls "picture criticism." The principal assumption of picture criticism is that an artist worked in a way similar to a scribe, and hence the methods of text criticism, with certain modifications, can be applied to the study of miniatures.⁵² The fact that the miniatures in the Vatopedi Octateuch are found to be better in various ways than any of the known manuscripts thus leads to the conclusion that they must copy a superior lost model. However, if the conclusion of this paper is accepted, namely that the Vatopedi is not based on a lost model but is a direct copy of Vat. gr. 746, it follows that picture criticism is an unsuitable method for the study of the Octateuchs.

The method followed in this paper was based on the need to pay close attention to all aspects of the manuscript, not only its miniatures. It was the study

⁵¹ Discussed in Lowden, "Vatopedi Octateuch" (ed. note * *supra*), I, 202–3; II, 258–81.

⁵² K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, 2nd ed., *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, 2 (Princeton, 1970), esp. 182–92.

⁵⁰ See Huber, *Bild*, figs. 106, 118.

of the text, undertaken before that of the illustration, which enabled the model to be identified as Vat. gr. 746. This relationship was borne out by the division of both manuscripts by quires, indicating why a knowledge of the codicology was important. Once the model had been identified, the study of the miniatures could be made with precision. It emerged that the later artist was not dependent only on his Octateuch model, but incorporated elements from other sources and showed originality as well. In general, comparisons showed how a copy could improve on its model.

I have tried to show how a comprehensive study

of the Octateuchs can be undertaken, and how it will reveal information that is of more than simply iconographic interest. Kurt Weitzmann has written that the study of the Octateuchs "will permit the establishment of general principles with regard to the process of copying miniatures."⁵³ The discovery that the Vatopedi Octateuch is a copy of Vat. gr. 746 is, I suggest, a step in this direction.

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⁵³ Weitzmann, "The Octateuch of the Seraglio" (note 14 *supra*), 183.

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καὶ ἀφ' οὗτος Χρῖστος ἡμῶν ἀνέστη καὶ ἡ παρρησία αὐτοῦ·

$$\bar{\kappa}_B + \frac{\epsilon}{\pi} \alpha \chi \epsilon \pi \alpha \tau \iota \kappa \omicron \nu \chi \epsilon \rho \acute{\iota} \varsigma \mu \alpha \tau \omicron \varsigma$$
[illegible]

υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὸ θεῖον αἰὶν
 χρεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ μωροῦν τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἀμάρ-
 ταν καὶ τὸν δόξαν καὶ τὸ θεῖον πατέρα
 ἵστατο καὶ ὁφείθει σφαιρὶν ψῆμιν διὰ τὸ καὶ
 πᾶσι μωροῖς παρὰ τὸ ἀγνοεῖν. πρὸς τὸ
 ἀμάρταν ἀγνοεῖν καὶ πᾶσι συμπεριπα-
 ρεῖν τὸν ἀστυν καὶ τὸν ὁλοκλήτως αἰσίου

$$k_1^2 + \frac{e}{\pi} \pi \chi_1 \epsilon \omega \epsilon \rho \omega \chi_1 +$$

7. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi 602, fol. 20^v

2. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 8

[illegible]

καὶ τὸν ἵον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν
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ΚΕΙΝΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ

ΑΛΩΥ ΣΗΕ
ΟΡΙ ΠΙ

προφ
βίβεντζα

[illegible]

Χαλκοῦ ποσότητος ὡς ποδὲς ἑκατὸν χίλις σκαυ-
σάτων τοῦ ταυρὸς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ πομπῶν·

[illegible]

μωσ και αβρααμ αρ χη ς : — ^Μ ης οζ απορ πω ο Χκ αν
 λιγιστη εν γλ οδ τρι ψ
 μω η δ τρι τον ουρανον
 υπο ης ος σ και ον ελ

[illegible]

ΖΙΚΑΛΕΙ ΑΠΟΡΟ
 ΣΩΠΕΡΕΘΡΟΝ
 ΔΩΛΟΙΟ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΚΗΝΩΣΗ ΚΑΤΑΠΙΘΕ

μοιρος· ὅτι τὴν ψοῖαν σου
ἐπὶ σὶ τέπη καὶ οἱ μὲν
ὄρθρῳ σὺ σὺν ἐφ' ἡμερῶν
σὺν μακαρίοις σὺν ἡμῖν·

[illegible]

*ἡ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὰ παλαιὰ δι' ἡμετέρας ἀποστολὰς
καὶ τοῦτον οὕτως ἐκείνοι καταρχήτως τοιοῦτος διέκειτο·*

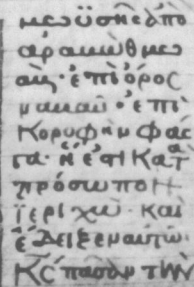
... οὐκ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ κυρίου.

[illegible][illegible]

φοις αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐπειρήσας
 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ· σὶ δὴ
 οὐκ ἀγαλκὸς τὸ ὕψος
 αὐτοῦ· ὡς αὐτὸν ὡς αὐτὸν

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

λαμπρὰν ἀν' ὁμορφίαν ἔσονται ἀμύμονος ἡντά· καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τῷ πρὸς ἁγίαν
 ἡ φθορίαν· Νικητὸς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐνώπιον· σὶ· Διέ· ρ· ω· π· τ· Καί

$$\frac{1}{100}$$
$$\frac{1}{40}$$




13. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi 602, fol. 150, The Earth Swallows Dathan and Abiram



14. Vat. gr. 746, fol. 340v, The Earth Swallows Dathan and Abiram



15. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi 602, fol. 136, Miriam Struck with Leprosy



16. Vat. gr. 746, fol. 334, Miriam Struck with Leprosy; Moses Sends Spies into Canaan



17. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi 602, fol. 353v, Joshua Sends Men to Ai: Their Return and Advice



18. Vat. gr. 746, fol. 447v, Joshua Sends Men to Ai; Their Return and Advice



19. Vat. palat. gr. 431, sheet VI, Joshua Sends Men to Ai



a.



b. Detail, Destruction of Jericho



21. Vat. palat. gr. 431, sheet V, Destruction of Jericho



22. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi 602, fol. 175



23. Vat. gr. 746, fol. 354



24. Arilje, Narthex, Fresco, Balaam and the Ass Meet the Angel

